ll: Haguenauer--41-42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
621 Atayal

The community and the clan are literally a group of souls some of which are imprisoned in bodies, while others are free, but all of them are serving the clan. [42] The community increases in strength in proportion to the number of the souls who are interested in its fate.

21: Asai--2-3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 622, 626, 794 Atayal

"Among the Atayal, there are four ritual leagues called gagas in one community, each with its own chief. All four gaga are not always in one village. In one village there may be two. One part of the village will belong to one and the other [3] part to another. Among the gaga there is the head of the ceremonies. At present few ceremonies are practiced in the name of gaga. Membership in gagas is hereditary through the father. A man who immigrated into a village from another village would not be able to join the gaga of the new village. If he marries a woman of the new village, his son can join the gaga. It is possible to marry within the gaga. The gaga play an important role in social control."

21: Asai--7 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 582, 621 Bunun

"The Bunun have a clan organization. Takeshi is the word for 'family' name (i.e., clan name). The Bunun have such family names, the other tribes don't. Cannot marry within the same clan. The clan is important in ceremonials, social functions. In the Bunun, each clan has common ceremonies; members of the same clan go hunting together."

22: Wiedfeldt--16-17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 621 Atayal

Every clan is the permanent owner of a fixed piece of arable land of about 100 to 130 hectares in size. No one knows how or when this land was assigned to the clan. [17] Every family of the clan may take as much of this clan land as it wishes.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 621 Atayal

The clan, karan, or aran, called scha, or village, by the Chinese, consists of from 8 to 30 families which are interrelated and which act for each other, like the Japanese goningumi. Individual clans trace their tradition back to a common ancestor, but all of them must have some blood ties.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
431, 621 Atayal

If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

31; Hofmann--620-621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 561, 621 Tsou

The most striking feature in the villages of the aborigines are the houses for bachelors (cf. Fig. 5). Both of the villages I visited, Tebor and Tappan, have a large hut of this type; it may be easily distinguished from the rest since it is erected on pilework, while the other houses are built of stone. The lower story is open on all sides; the upper story is open along the front of the house and has a straw roof. The natives climb up to the hall on a tree trunk in which notches have been cut; this is by no means easy. [621] In this hall all the unmarried men live together. Here the natives also hold their councils of war and discuss all the important affairs of the tribe, so that this hut is, as it were, their ministry, parliament, and stock market. No woman may enter this sanctum under any conditions.

34: Del Re--19 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 623 Yami

"No hierarchic distinction exists among the islanders nor is the rotation-system practised. Village councils, called 'Quaty', consisted of 12 elders, of over fifty years of age elected by the villagers. Their powers were merely advisory and the community was not obliged to abide by their decisions. In case of offences against the gods or the community, the 'Quatys' had authority to impose a fine in kind--a custom still practised--proportionate to the gravity of the offence. (4)"

4. See below p. 62.

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan -Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--37-38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 626, 796 Yami

"In concluding these remarks it should be stressed that while each individual must contribute by his work to the welfare of the community, he is otherwise free to join or not as he pleases in the communal life without exposing himself to criticism or censure except, of course, during the flying-fish festival where failure to comply with the tribal customs would not only involve him but the whole [38] community in the direst misfortunes."

37: Steere--305-306 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 241, 231, 621 Sek-hoan

"They irrigate and cultivate the soil in the same way as the Chinese do, using buffaloes for plowing and for drawing rude carts, that are used in all parts of the island, and are said to be of Dutch origin. They live like the [306] Chinese, gathered together in villages of huts made of adobes and covered with grass roofs."

37: Steere--307 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 142, 621, 291 Chin-hoan

"The savages that I visited east of the Lek-whan settlement of Posia, I have left with the general designation of Che-whan. The Chinese and Pepo-whans often call them Bon-whan. They occupy a part of the water shed of the island about the head-waters of the river that flows through the valley of Posia and into the Formosan channel near Changwha, and of other streams that flow into the Pacific. They are said to belong to a nation or confederacy, of over thirty villages, under one chief. They are very small and inferior looking, hardly averaging five feet in height, but very muscular from their life spent in climbing up and down their steep mountains. Their dress is made of a species of nettle, perhaps the ramil plant, which they cultivate, and which the women weave into narrow strips of very strong and durable, but somewhat coarse cloth, which is generally ornamented with red and blue stripes woven in. The only clothing of the men is a coarse sleeveless shirt of this cloth, which comes down to the middle of the thigh. I saw a couple of men among them wearing nothing but narrow (tapa rabos), not so wide as the hand, made apparently from the hair of some animal, woven, and colored red. They were said to belong to another, but friendly tribe. The women wear a sort of short tunic or kilt."

37: Steere--310 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 621, 142 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan--Chinese Tsui, water, and whan, savage--are so called from living about a small lake, which is situated about ten or fifteen miles to the south of Posia, from which they get a great part of their living by fishing. This lake, with the flat, cultivable lands about it, is entirely shut in by wooded mountains, those to the east rising to great height. The lake is over two miles in length, and contains a number of species of fish and eels. There are three villages of Tsui-whan about the lake, containing perhaps in all a thousand people, under one chief, and apparently entirely separate and independent of any other tribes of savages. They are a small but well-formed race, with regular and rather pleasing features."

37: Steere--311 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 162, 621 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are a tribe of Che-whan inhabiting the mountains east of Takou. The territory they occupy is not extensive, not reaching over the dividing line of mountains, but all lying toward the west. They live in two villages, which are called by the Chinese Toasia and Taosia--large and small towns. The first and lowest contains perhaps two hundred inhabitants, while Taosia is properly a collection of villages, with toward a thousand inhabitants. They can look down from these villages, which must be at a height of four or five thousand feet, upon the great plain below, thickly dotted with Chinese villages and covered with rice fields, and they can even see the sea in the distance."

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INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chipasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

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of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

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ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the ***mamatsayiran***, (2) the ***maluvtsivtsik***, and (3) the ***pualu***. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade ***pualu***. The aristocratic class is generally called ***mamatsayiran***, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called ***avusamay***, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the ***maluvtsivtsik*** or consanguineous, and the ***naitsu a n²nmax*** or affinal. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** belongs to the Chimo group. Three ***maluvtsivtsik*** of the ***ruvaniau*** are the south ***tfalas***, the north ***tfalas***, and the ***tfaluyi***. Among the ***naitsu a numax*** are the ***voto***, the ***tara²atea***, the ***gumul***, the ***matsiliat***, and the ***tfalusayiu*** of the Chimo, and the ***atsinajay***, the ***lusiguay*** and the ***aliolay*** of the Paiwan. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south ***tfalas*** possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (***umutel***) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (***utsiputsipoy***) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or ***usam*** to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or ***muluvtsivtsik***. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The ***utsiputsipoy*** is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the ***utsiputsipoy*** household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the ***utsiputsipoy*** are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own ***umax*** or house. The ***umax*** or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its ***yatay a numax*** or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

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tsuvulavay, lusaliay, suli'i, laluriay. 643

d) *sasaolay* (servants of the *avusamay* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

B. Religious chiefs:

a) *para'are a malava* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajay* (Paiwan)
para'are a pusav (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivuluvay giligilao* (Chimo)
para'are na ara (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
·····*tsipulayay* (Chimo)

b) *paraiyay* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliyao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

rara'atsay (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*
rara'atsay tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

D. Tribal councils:

a) *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoy*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau*. 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alay*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*.

c) *malaval ta palisilisiay*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsay* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsay*.

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism 631

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax*. The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa*. 621 The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunayay* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows:

atunayay village		*pinairaratsa* household	
pailus	„	*tsamatsiay*	„
vunalit	„	*talavunay*	„
butsunuk	„	*tsaododo*	„
tsuvutsa'atay	„	*tsulimodo*	„

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pulti	„	*talialup*	„
aviayay	„	*tsiyulol*	„
tsaovarul	„	*ruvaniau*	„
ralide	„	?	
atsa²atsaray	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

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423
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All dwelling lands (*inaray*), hunting grounds (*aliupay*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunayay*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*unutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsomul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsay*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoy*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *pa²a*—tax for trading
g) *pa²a lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pata²alay*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutaloy*. The *vavutaloy* of the *ruvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutaloy* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutaloy* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jirayuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ruvaniau* and *sadilapay* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsavatsavuy*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalay*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

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The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ruvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsa*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *usam* or heir of the family to succeed

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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes parents' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sali²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *calo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *calo* or *caca*. *calo* means 621

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"companions". In the Atayal, a hunting group is organized by men each of whom comes from each family of the village. This group of people hunt together, and divide the game they have gotten. If a villager commits a crime, such as one who is going to marry another member of the same ***pinsaqa²an***, or one who is proposing to divorce his spouse, etc., the person concerned must offer a sacrifice, a pig or a chicken, and holds a ***xalion*** or a ceremony of breaking taboo for atonement. This ceremony will be attended by all household-heads of the group which hunt together. When the ceremony is over, the sacrifice will be divided among the attendants and will be eaten by them to avert evil influence. Of the above mentioned organizations, the former is a hunting group, and the latter a group for consuming sacrifice together. The *Seqoleq* Atayal call the former ***litan***, and the latter ***neqan***, but the ***tapilas*** is rather ignorant of these two terms, they refer to all participants as ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***cəlo***, which means "of the same ***cəlo***".

caca means "tradition". In time of land clearing, seed-sowing, crop-harvesting, and ritual-hunting, all household-heads participate in the ritual to make offerings to their ancestors. After the ritual is over, the feast starts. The participants are called ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***caca*** which means "of the same ***caca***" or "of the same tradition". In ***tapilas***, a ***caca*** is also a hunting group and a group for consuming sacrifice together as stated above, therefore, there is no distinction between a "***caca***" and a ***cəlo***".

4. ***camil***

There is another kind of unilateral type of kin group called ***camil***. ***camil*** means "root". Those who descend from the same ancestor are called ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***camil*** or "of the same ***camil***". So ***camil*** has a similar meaning to the Chinese term "tsung" (lineage). A "tsung" is a unilateral kin group. The descent rule of the Atayal is patrilineal, therefore a ***camil*** is a patrilineal kin group which resembles a lineage of the clannish society. Utsurikawa has translated ***camil*** as ***shizoku*** or clan, but, as the present author has noticed, it differs from a clan, because it is not an exogamous unit and is not organized into a certain form of group. People who have the same grand-grand-father can not intermarry with each other. A woman is excluded from the ***camil*** of her parents and joins her husband's after she is married. A man who has married into his wife's family belongs to his wife's ***camil***. In the wedding ceremony, when a bride is sent to bridegroom's house, the go-between always intiates his address to the bride with the following words: "You were belonging to the ***camil*** so-and-so, but now you have become a member of the ***camil*** so-and-so". As stated in the foregoing section, ***tapilas*** has two principal ***camils***: One is the ***camil tapilas***, which the Chief ***βujoŋ-tolai*** belongs to. The first ancestor of the ***camil*** within their memory is called ***ijo***. ***βujoŋ-tolai***'s grandson is a member in the seventh generation descended from ***ijo***. Another is the ***camil məililax***, which the vice-chief ***joqex-etex*** belongs to. The vicechief's son is in his descendants of the seventh generation counting from the first ancestor. Still another is called ***camil maja²an***, which is the ***camil*** of our first guide ***βa²ai-qaino***. Their first ancestor is called ***ufi***. ***βa²ai-qaino***'s son is in his